LIFE OF COMMISSARY JAMES BLAIR

FOUNDER OF

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

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History is past Politics and Politics are present History.—*Freeman*

LIFE OF COMMISSARY JAMES BLAIR

FOUNDER OF

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

BY DANIEL ESTEN MOTLEY

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PREFACE

The writer is greatly indebted to President Lyon G. Tyler, for the use of old college papers and letters of the presidents and professors. The numerous papers and letters of President Blair and Professor Inglis, were placed at my disposal and have been of great service in determining the origin of the college, and the construction of the building. Some of these have been printed from time to time in the William and Mary College Quarterly, but are for the most part unpublished.

LIFE OF COMMISSARY JAMES BLAIR

CHAPTER I.

BLAIR'S RELIGIOUS WORK.

Of the early life of James Blair, very little is known. He was born in Scotland in the year 1656, and clearly showed his origin by his characteristic, hard Scotch nature, strength of moral character and his indomitable courage. He received his early education in Edinburgh and graduated at Edinburgh University with the degree of Master of Arts in 1673. Soon after his graduation he was beneficed in the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and for several years was rector of Cranston parish in the diocese of Edinburgh.[1] He served his church with such "diligence, care and gravity" that he won the admiration of the Bishop of the Edinburgh diocese and when he left Scotland received from him a recommendation of the highest order.[2] Young Blair went to England in the latter part of the reign of Charles the Second. There he met Dr. Compton, the Bishop of London, and "the energy and zeal of Blair" soon attracted that prelate's further attention.[3]

The Bishop of London seeing in Blair a power for good, spoke to him of the need of ministers in the American colonies and prevailed upon him to go to Virginia as a missionary. The religious condition of the colony, and especially the odium into which the clergy had fallen, were

[1] Perry's Historical Collection, Virginia, p. 247.
[2] Ibid.
[3] J. S. M. Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, Vol. ii, p. 384.

not at all enticing to the better ministers of England. It was hard to get any of them to go there.[4] Again the livings of the churches in Virginia were managed in such a precarious way that it was not certain that a minister could get a necessary support by his profession. Anderson, the English historian of the Colonial Church, in speaking of Blair, says: "Nothing can be imagined more discouraging than the field of duty which there awaited him."[5]

Notwithstanding these hindrances, which we to-day are too apt to underestimate, Dr. Blair decided to venture, and in 1685 sailed for Virginia. He immediately went to Henrico City, which both in importance and interest stood next to Jamestown. Excepting the efforts made at the Falls of the James River, at Nansemond and Hampton, Henrico was next to Jamestown the oldest settlement in Virginia, having been planted in 1611 by Sir Thomas Dale and Rev. William Whitaker. Dr. Blair soon after his arrival was accepted as minister of Henrico parish and inducted into it.[6] He preached there for nine years until he moved to Jamestown, in 1694, in order to be nearer Middle Plantation, at which place he was establishing a college. He became minister of the Jamestown Church in 1694 and remained pastor there for sixteen years. He became attached to the people there, and nothing but duty calling him elsewhere caused him to leave.[7] Some time during the early part of his ministry Blair was married.[8] His wife was the daughter of Benjamin Harrison, of "Wakefield," Surry County.[9]

In 1710, Rev. Solomon Whately, the rector of Bruton Church, Williamsburg, having died, the vestrymen called

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[4] Perry's Historical Collection, Virginia, p. 335.
[5] Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, Vol. ii, p. 384.
[6] Perry's Historical Collection, Virginia, p. 42.
[7] Church Review, Vol. viii, p. 606, or the vestry book of Bruton Church.
[8] If the date is known, it has not been possible to ascertain it.
[9] Virginia Magazine of History, Vol. iv, p. 161.

a meeting for the purpose of employing a minister. After a brief consideration of a few prominent candidates, "by the Majority of Votes, the Rev. James Blair was elected minister thereof."[10] The church wardens informed Dr. Blair that he had been called to the Bruton Church. Here is inserted a part of Dr. Blair's letter, addressed to the vestry of Bruton Church before his election. It may briefly tell the cause of his leaving Jamestown:

"December 4th, 1710.

"Gentlemen:

. . . . . It is true, I have so many obligations to ye Parish of James City, that nothing but the urgent Necessity of health, often impaired by such long Winter Journeys, and a fear that as age and infirmities increase, I shall not be able to attend that Service (being at such a distance) so punctually as I have hitherto done, could have induced me to entertain anything as of leaving them."[11]

Dr. Blair entered at once upon his duties in connection with the church at Williamsburg and continued his ministry there as long as he lived. Williamsburg had been known in former years as Middle Plantation from the fact of its lying midway between James and York Rivers. But, in 1700, when Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson moved the seat of government from Jamestown because of the damage to that town by fire and the unhealthiness of the place, he planned a large town at Middle Plantation. The new capital was named Williamsburg in honor of King William III.[12] By the time Dr. Blair became rector there, in 1710, the town, with its beautiful location and broad and straight streets, with William and Mary College and the capitol, was a centre of attraction to all parts of Virginia. Many of its inhabitants were courtly

[10] Church Review, Vol. viii, pp. 591, 592.

[11] Church Review, Vol. viii, p. 606, or the vestry book of Bruton Church.

[12] Virginia State Papers, Vol. i, p. 73.

and refined, and during college commencements and the sessions of the Burgesses the place is said to have presented on a small scale the scene of a court in the mother country. At the time Dr. Blair was called to Bruton Church its parish was ten miles square and its members included the most distinguished men of the colony.[12] Bruton or Middle Plantation Parish was three quarters of a century old at that time. It is mentioned in the acts of the "Grand Assembly" as far back as February 17, 1644, but it was established several years before then,[13] for the York Records mention it at an earlier time. It once consisted of two parishes, the Harrop and the Middle Plantation. In April, 1658, Harrop and Middle Plantation parishes were incorporated into one, which was to be known as the parish of Middletown.[14] Marston parish was joined to that of Middletown in 1674, and the united parishes took the name "Bruton Parish."[15] The derivation of the name Bruton is not known, but it is thought by John C. McCabe and Dr. Lyon G. Tyler to have been called Bruton in honor of Thomas Ludwell, or of Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, who were from Bruton, Somerset County, England.

When Dr. Blair took charge of the work at Bruton Church he found its communicants, among whom was Governor Spotswood, making preparations for erecting a new building. He immediately entered heartily into the project, and presented to the vestrymen the Governor's plan, encouraging the undertaking with means as well as with words. The new church building was to be seventy-five feet long, twenty-eight feet wide, and to have two wings twenty-two feet in width, and walls twenty-three feet high constructed of brick. Governor Spotswood agreed

[12] Perry's Historical Collection, Virginia, p. 299.
[13] Hening's Statutes, Vol. i, p. 317.
[14] Hening's Statutes, Vol. i, p. 498.
[15] York Records, William and Mary College Quarterly, Vol. iii, p. 170.

to put up twenty-two feet of its length at his own expense. The General Assembly contributed means for the two wings. By the end of 1715 the spacious building was practically finished. The ground plan formed a Greek cross, and the same church, except for some changes in the size and interior adornments, still stands at old Williamsburg.

Dr. Blair preached at his church every Sunday morning. On Sunday evenings lectures were given. Rev. Hugh Jones, M. A., lectured there some years. Although Dr. Blair had three other important offices to fill, besides that of minister, yet he was never neglectful of his church. Whenever he took a trip to England, as he frequently did, he was particular to see that his church was supplied with preaching during his absence, and often refused salary that it might go toward supplying his pulpit. "He was much beloved and respected and especially in his own parish and among his nearest neighbors who knew him best."[17] For thirty years he continued to serve Bruton Church.

Dr. Blair's preaching was plain, strong and especially practical for that time. His audiences were composed of the élite of the colony. His sermons were always forcible denunciations of all forms of sin.[18] In his work as minister he wrote four volumes of sermons on "Our Savior's Divine Sermons on the Mount." There are one hundred and seventeen sermons in the volumes and each volume contains about five hundred pages. They were first published in England in 1722. A new edition was published in 1740.[19] They are interesting in that they are among the very first contributions to American religious literature. Four volumes are in the library of William and Mary College, to which they were presented in "1860 by Bishop Meade." Dr. Blair's purpose in writing these sermons was to arouse the people to "a more diligent consideration

[17] Perry's Historical Collection, Virginia, p. 150.
[18] Blair's Sermons.
[19] Ibid.

and practice of Christian Morals," and bring about a "Revival of the true Spirit of Christianity."[20] The character of the sermons is well described in the words of Dr. Daniel Waterland, who wrote the preface of the new edition: "As to the Subject here made Choice of it is the highest and the noblest that could be, *viz.* our Lord's *Divine* Sermons on the Mount: And as it is here explained with *good Judgment*, so it appears likewise to be pressed with *due Force;* in a clear and easy, but masculine Style, equally fitted to the Capacities of *common* Christians, and to the improved Understandings of the Knowing and Judicious."[21] Of them, Bishop Meade says: "As an accurate commentary on that most blessed portion of the Scripture, I should think it can never have been surpassed."[22]

For many years previous to Blair's arrival in Virginia the clergy and others had complained of the need of a bishop of Virginia, who might discipline the ministers and raise the religious condition to a higher and more respectable plane.[23] They thought the sole remedy lay in the appointment of a bishop. It was hard to find a man equal to that office, but Dr. Blair, "by his regular conversation, exemplary Conduct, and unwearied Labors in the Work of the Ministry" . . . . "did good Service to Religion, and gained to himself a good Report amongst all: So that . . . . Bishop Compton, being well apprized of his true and great Worth, made choice of him, about the year 1689 as his *Commissary* for Virginia."[24] He was the first to hold that office in the colony of Virginia. Dr. Temple, previous to this time, had done the work of a Commissary in some respects, but had never been appointed as such. The commissaryship was "a very weighty and creditable post, the high-

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[20] Blair's Sermons, Vol. i, Preface, p. 22.
[21] Blair's Sermons, Vol. i, Preface, p. 7.
[22] Meade's Old Churches and Families, Vol. i, p. 155.
[23] Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, Vol. ii, pp. 356, 358.
[24] Blair's Sermons, Vol. i, Preface, p. 2.

est office in the Church" in Virginia.[35] The duty of the Commissary consisted in visiting the parishes, correcting the lives of the clergy, and keeping them orderly.[36] Dr. Blair, as Commissary, called conventions of the preachers, presided at trials, and pronounced sentences when any one of the preachers was proved guilty of crime or misconduct. With respect to the clergy he exercised about all the functions of a bishop except ordination and the probate of wills. No meeting of the clergy treating of ecclesiastical matters was to be held without the Commissary. He never attempted to set up a court for the laity. It must be here remarked that the Governor of Virginia was the king's ordinary, by virtue of which office it was his duty to induct ministers into parishes when they should be presented by the vestrymen in the name of the parishioners.[37] He had the power of both presentation and induction, if the vestrymen did not present a minister to him in the space of six months from the time the church became vacant. It was the duty of the Governor to suspend or silence any man he should find preaching without having been ordained by some bishop of England or if he should be leading a scandalous life.[38]

Twelve men in each parish, known as vestrymen, were elected by the parishioners at its beginning and any vacancies caused by death or otherwise were filled by the choice of the vestry. According to the law it was the duty of the vestrymen to proportion "the levies and assessments for building and repairing the churches and chapels, provisions for the poor, maintenance of the minister, and such other necessary duties for the more orderly management of all parochial affairs."[39] They employed the minister and ac-

[35] Blair's Sermons, Vol. i, Preface p. 2.
[36] Perry's Historical Collection, Virginia, p. 250. Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, Vol. ii, p. 383.
[37] Perry's Historical Collection, Virginia, pp. 243, 244.
[38] Perry's Historical Collection, Virginia. Laws of Virginia, p. 3. Hening's Statutes, Vol. iii, p. 44. Perry, p. 242.
[39] Hening's Statutes, Vol. ii, p. 44. Perry, p. 242.

cording to the rules of the church should have presented him for induction, but the fact that they rarely did this was the cause of much disturbance. Out of their number two church wardens were chosen yearly, whose duties may be summed up in a general way under three heads: First, The church wardens acted as censors for the church in reporting all swearing, sabbath-breaking, drunkenness and other "abominable sins," to the court held in December and April. Second, They kept the church building in repair and saw that the means for the sacrament were prepared. Third, They collected the minister's salary and presented to the vestry an account of all the disbursements and receipts.[20] The salary of the preacher, according to a law passed by the General Assembly of Virginia in 1696, was sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. This was generally considered equal to one hundred pounds sterling in sweet-scented tobacco and eighty in lower grades, but as a matter of fact it ranged from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty pounds sterling, according to the grade of the tobacco. Five per cent was deducted for the collection of the minister's salary.

At the time Dr. Blair was appointed Commissary the religious condition of the colony was at a low ebb.[21] The clergy was much demoralized.[22] It will not do to make sweeping statements in regard to the clerical morality of that day, for the better class was probably in the majority. The preachers were sometimes unjustly treated. There is evidence that some of them were truly religious and devoted to their work. The precarious hold of the clergy upon their livings begot in them a spirit of indifference to duty.[23] The most common sin among them was drunkenness, and the things belonging thereto, such as profane language, quarrel-

[20] Hening's Statutes, Vol. ii, pp. 51, 52.
[21] Perry, pp. 15, 16, 30: Hawks' Ecclesiastical History, Virginia, pp. 86, 87.
[22] Perry, pp. 15, 30, 31, 252, 363. Hawks, pp. 87-90.
[23] Perry, p. 15. Hawks, pp. 89, 90.

ing and neglect of duty. This condition of the clergy is not to be looked at by itself, for they, to a great degree, were children of their age. The evil habit of drinking was common from Massachusetts to the utmost extent of the southern colonies. The life of the people reacted upon the clergy as well as the life of the clergy upon the people. Again, the preachers for Virginia had to be obtained from England and it was difficult, for reasons that will be presently shown, to get men of great ability and character to come to the colony as missionaries. The best of them had good work and livings in England, so naturally the greater part of the preachers who came over were of an inferior order. The demand in the colonies for ministers was great, and the leading bishops of England, although they had the religious welfare of Virginia at heart, made a mistake in thinking that men of ordinary ability would do for a new country; for whereas if able men are needed anywhere it is in fields where the paths have not been marked out, where a standard has not been set, but where they must stand alone and create a standard by the sheer force of their own characters. Both this great demand, and the misunderstanding of the condition of the country, played their parts in contributing men for ministers whose characters were not above reproach and whose intellectual abilities were of a common order. The sinful and ugly conduct of a part of the clergy lowered the whole in the eyes of the people, and the church was not able to do the good which it ought to have done. These were the conditions and this the class of preachers that the Commissary had to deal with.

In his efforts to better the clergy, Dr. Blair labored under difficulties which deserve special mention. Probably the greatest natural hindrance arose from the fact that he was a Scotchman. Many preachers had a prejudice against him on that ground alone.[34] These spoke of him as "one

[34] Perry, pp. 31, 37. College Papers.

Scot hireling." Yet every page of contemporary history of the time shows there was no man in Virginia whose character and mental ability was equal to that of Blair for filling the office of Commissary. A second incidental obstacle was found in the enemies he had created. He was a member of the Council, Judge of the High Court and President of William and Mary College, as well as Commissary and preacher, and by his earnest activity in these offices came in connection with all sorts of men, some of them became hostile to him. His troubles with the governors caused many of the clergy to be opposed to him. While Dr. Blair, being human, made errors, yet had he been perfect he would have made enemies, for he had to deal with officials, and others who were acting from self-interest and policy. A third unavoidable hindrance was the lack of a sufficient number of preachers for the churches. There were not enough to supply the parishes, so there was no such thing as making choice. A few years after Dr. Blair was made Commissary there were fifty parishes in Virginia and only twenty-two preachers all told.[88]

We have now briefly stated the government of the church, the condition of the clergy at the time Dr. Blair became Commissary, 1689, and the hindrances under which he had to labor. His endeavors to better the clergy and the religious condition of Virginia, in general, may be spoken of under four heads: (1) by admonition and instruction to the ministers, for which purpose he usually called a convention of them; (2) by efforts to get more preachers from England; (3) by educating men in Virginia for the ministry. This will be spoken of in the following chapter and must be taken into account when estimating the good Dr. Blair accomplished for the clergy and the colony; (4) by his own example.

That he might get all the preachers together for encouragement and admonition, the Commissary called

[88] Perry, p. 11.

general conventions. At first these assemblies were held yearly. But when political factions arose among the clergy in regard to the governors, it became difficult to get them together, so the conventions were held only on certain occasions, as at the accession of a king, or of a bishop of London, or the appointing of a governor. The Commissary presided over the convention. One of the preachers was chosen as clerk of the meeting. On convening, the Commissary preached a sermon, then delivered any special charge to the ministers he wished, and read such letters as he might have from the Bishop of London or from the Governor addressed to the clergy. Then the convention was resolved into a free conference, so that any minister might propose anything he wished for the good of the church.[36]

In these assemblies the lives of the clergy were inquired into and efforts were made to correct any evils existing in them. The whole religious situation was often discussed. Occasionally, differences of opinion created a storm of discussion. Many papers were presented in these conventions and flashes of satire and sarcasm show that Virginia had some ministers of no mean intellectual ability. It also appears that the American spirit of religious freedom sometimes brooded over these clerical assemblies long before the days of Thomas Jefferson. The conventions often lasted two days, holding sessions morning, afternoon and night. The proceedings of some of these meetings are intensely interesting, and if the scope of this work allowed it, they might be entered here with both interest and profit. Dr. Blair preached many able sermons to the clergy and gave them much fatherly and Christian advice. But his preaching and admonition did not always do as much good as they should have done, because of the prejudice of some of the clergy and the hardened corrupt character of others. Their preconceived no-

[36] Perry, pp. 144-179, 199-217.

tions prevented them from catching the spirit of what was said. In reading over the papers and proceedings of these clerical conventions, one is impressed by the calmness of mind maintained by Dr. Blair amid hot debates and even when shameful and undeserved sarcasm was hurled at him. When, in the convention of 1705, the ministers made a number of bitter attacks on the Commissary, Blair answered them in a quiet and masterly way. His calmness and earnestness amid angry and oftentimes thoughtless men, win our admiration. Blair possessed a rare power of self-control.

The Commissary not only used these public assemblies to discipline the clergy, but as far as time permitted, visited the parishes and spoke to the preachers individually.[27] When any minister was charged with drunkenness or other misconduct, Dr. Blair said he found it difficult to get reliable evidence, for while people would report such things in a general way, no one would come into his presence and testify to them. This kept him from getting at the truth, and hence from dealing properly with immoral ministers. Perhaps the greatest hindrance encountered by the Commissary in his visiting was the determined opposition and general aversion of the people to anything like a "spiritual court."[28] The very air of Virginia seemed to breathe a spirit of freedom into every one who placed a foot upon her soil.

Although Blair had a spirit of righteous indignation against immorality, yet, on the whole, he dealt gently with the clergy. He said that unless they were "notoriously scandalous" he found it necessary to content himself with admonitions, for if he suspended a man he had no one to put in his place.[29] During the first thirty-five years of his commissaryship he only suspended two ministers. June 20, 1723, he wrote to Mr. Forbes: "Because of the want of clergymen to fill vacancies, I choose rather to lean to the

[27] Perry, p. 130. [28] Ibid., p. 214. [29] Ibid., p. 250.

gentle than the severe side."[40] The Commissary earnestly endeavored by instruction, by encouragement and by rebuke, when necessary, to correct and purify the clergy. Every speech and letter to the clergy unmistakably breathes a deep and earnest spirit for the improvement of the religious condition of the colony, and especially for raising the ministers above reproach.

Dr. Blair endeavored to secure a preacher for every parish. It is certain that in writing to the Bishop of London concerning the Church, he nearly always expressed a desire to have more preachers sent over to Virginia.[41] The intensity of his spirit in pleading for more ministers when materially they were to benefit him in no respect is striking. The explanation of all this is short: it is simply that Blair was a man of God and had the good of his people at heart. The Bishops of London, though they had much at home to occupy their time, were always mindful of the religious welfare of Virginia and ready to aid in any way. The thoughtfulness and the spirit of their letters to the Commissary are exemplary. They sent over ministers when they could. But owing to the fact that in the colony the preachers were employed by the year, instead of being inducted into their parishes or livings as in England, made it very difficult to get ministers to leave home and a place of certainty for a foreign land and a precarious living. Ministers to-day accustomed to being employed by the year hardly know what a hindrance this was to securing preachers for Virginia. As already mentioned, it was the duty of the Governor to induct ministers into the churches, but the vestrymen of each parish practically ruled all church affairs, employed and turned off their preachers according to their own desires and the Governor dared not oppose them. A preacher was rarely presented to the Governor

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[40] Perry, p. 251.
[41] Ibid., pp. 250, 318, 334, 357, 362.

for induction."[45] The Commissary wished the Governor to induct the clergymen in order that more and better ones might come from England. He said ministers living in such precarious circumstances could not "match so much to their advantage as if they were settled by induction."[46] He wished them to marry in the best families for two reasons, that they might have helpful wives and raise themselves in the estimation of the people, and thus be able to do more good. The Commissary did what he could to keep the glebes in good condition and to raise the salary of ministers, that he might better their lot, yet the deep odium under which the ministry labored in the colony made it hard to persuade good men to come over, for the standing of the clergy appears to have been reported in England worse than it was. These obstacles did not abate, in the least, the Commissary's efforts to obtain more preachers. He kept writing to the bishops to send more ministers, and whenever he made a trip to England he urged them personally. His efforts were not in vain. In 1696, there were at least fifty parishes in Virginia and only twenty-two preachers. In 1707, there were nearly forty ministers.[47] In 1723 Dr. Blair wrote the Bishop of London that there were "about ten vacancies and no ministers to supply them."[48] And in 1733 there were only two vacancies save some unfinished parishes. Two years later there were more vacancies owing to the death of four of the clergy and the completion of new parishes. But, in 1740, there were only four or five churches without preachers.[49] And in 1742, one year before Blair's death, notwithstanding many preachers had been lost by death and several new parishes formed during his commissaryship, there were only "two vacant churches," so he wrote to the Bishop of London.[50]

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[45] Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church, pp. 185, 250.
[46] Dr. Blair to the Bishop of London. [47] Perry, p. 185.
[48] Ibid., p. 250. [49] Ibid., pp. 362, 363. [50] Ibid., p. 364.

Not the least of Blair's means of raising the clergy to a higher plane was his own upright life. His precepts to the ministers were good and his life was consistent with them. Amid all his trials, though eager enemies would have been glad to find something to injure him, there is not a single moral blemish recorded upon his character. His life stood out before the clergy as an exemplification of his teaching and admonitions.

This was not in vain. By reading Hartwell, Blair and Chilton's "Present State of Virginia,"[48] written in 1693, and other literature of a later date, one can readily see there had been an improvement in the clergy.[49] Hugh Jones, though no friend to Blair, said, in 1724, the bulk of the clergy "had a mind to do their duty and live happily."[50] Dr. Blair never ceased to strive for the welfare of his people until his life ceased. The old man, when about eighty-five years of age, although he had struggled with the difficult affairs of a colony in a distant land for more than half a century, still preached "every Sunday," and, as far as his physical condition allowed, was active in fulfilling the three other offices he held. His constant and earnest activity while young for the religious welfare of Virginia, and the tenacity with which he still clung to the same purpose when many years above three-score and ten, plainly show Dr. James Blair to have been a man who sought not his own ease, but the good of his people and the exaltation of the One who stood by him in all of his tasks. The good effects of the fifty-eight years of faithful preaching, the fifty-four years of able commissaryship, and the upright life of Dr. Blair upon Virginia in her formative period can not be measured.

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[48] Dr. Blair was one of the authors of this little history, which is the best account we have of Virginia and her government in the last part of the seventeenth century.

[49] Perry, p. 213. [50] Jones' Present State of Virginia, p. 73.

CHAPTER II.

BLAIR AS THE FOUNDER OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

Dr. Blair not only had the religious but also the educational welfare of his country at heart. In his earnest efforts to promote the religious condition of Virginia he saw most clearly and felt most keenly the need of educated preachers. Since he was a man who always grasped the situation readily and prepared thoroughly for a work, he knew that without some place of learning at home where candidates might be taught, no great religious work could be done. Accordingly, he turned himself to the task of founding a college in Virginia where men might be educated both for the ministry and for the ordinary walks of life.

Long before Blair's time, efforts had been made to establish a college in the colony. In 1619, George Thorpe and George Sandys planned for a university in Virginia. Sir Edwin Sandys moved that ten thousand acres of land be granted for a university at Henrico. The grant was made. George Thorpe was chosen manager of the lands. Contracts were made with "brick makers." The Bishop in England raised the sum of fifteen hundred pounds to go toward a university. Many of the colonists were interested in the educational project and made donations to it.[1] It seemed that Virginia was soon to have the first college in America. But in the spring of 1622 the awful uprising of the Indians, in which Mr. Thorpe and

[1] Neill's Virginia Company, London, pp. 137, 138, 146-149, 329, 330. Neill's Earliest Efforts to promote Education in English North America.

three hundred and forty settlers, including those on the university grounds, were massacred, put a sad and sudden stop to this noble movement in behalf of education. For the next seventy years little except some legislating was done toward founding a college in Virginia.

Two years after the Indian massacre the idea of a college for Virginia was revived. It was suggested that the buildings be located on an island in the Susquehanna River, that they might be protected from the Indians. In 1624, the island was granted for the "founding and maintenance of a university and such schools in Virginia as shall there be erected, and shall be called *Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis*."[3] But the Academy never became a reality. The death of Mr. Edward Palmer, its principal advocate, brought the plan to an end.

In 1660, the Assembly of Virginia passed resolutions for the founding of a college and free school "for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and promotion of piety."[3] It was also voted that commissioners of the county courts take subscriptions for erecting a college, and that the commissioners send orders to the vestrymen of the parishes to raise money for the same purpose. "Considerable sums of money and quantityes of tobacco"[4] were subscribed, but nothing material was accomplished.

It is not strange that these several attempts failed, for while many colonists were in earnest about education, the majority of them had their hearts turned toward pleasure and an easy life, or were set on making money. Some among the highest classes were not much in favor of education. We hear Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, saying: "I thank God there are no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years."[5] It is just to say that ten years before making

[3] Neill's Virginia Vetusta, p. 183.
[4] Ibid., ii, 37.
[5] Hening, ii, 25.
[5] Ibid., ii, pp. 511, 517.

this statement, Berkeley had subscribed to the cause of classical education. Then means for establishing a college were extremely scarce in those early days of the colony. Another hindrance was the fact that the people of Virginia were scattered over the country and so it was more difficult to get them interested in establishing colleges than it would have been had they been settled in towns.[6] Again, there were always disputes as to where a college should be located.[7] But that which was lacking, perhaps more than anything else, was a man to stand by and push through an educational project in those trying days of beginnings. The man to fill the place was eventually found in the person of James Blair, the able and persevering Scotchman.

Commissary Blair, in 1690, set himself to the work of founding a college in Virginia, there being at that time only "one privately endowed school and a few old field schools" in the colony.[8] He talked education in such a manner as to "infuse fire into the cold hearts" of the people and especially into the Burgesses. Together with others of the clergy, he prepared "Several Propositions to be humbly presented to the consideration of ye next General Assembly, for ye better encouragement of learning, by the founding a college in this country to consist of three schools, *viz.*, Grammar, Philosophy, and Divinity."[9] This memorial asked the General Assembly to petition the king and queen for a charter for a college, a grant of land, a part of the quit-rents of Virginia and other small revenues to go toward establishing the school. The proposition also contained a general plan for its foundation and government. The Council of State approved this plan as an "excellent design" and empowered and authorized Dr. Blair and several other prominent men to solicit subscriptions and gifts to defray the charges of a college

[6] Adams' College of William and Mary, p. 14.
[7] See page 37.
[8] Cook's History of Virginia, p. 305.
[9] College Papers, bundle 636.

building.[10] The subscription papers show that the motive behind the enterprise was threefold: "The Education of our Youth, a constant supply of our Ministry and perhaps a foundation for ye Conversion of our neighboring Heathen (Indians) to the Christian Faith." Some money was subscribed but not sufficient.[11] In May, 1691, the General Assembly appointed Dr. Blair to go to England and solicit a charter and funds for a college in Virginia.[12] He was requested to seek the assistance of the Bishop of London in obtaining a charter from the Crown. His instructions were quite full, but so great was the Assembly's confidence in his character and ability he was told to do as he should "think necessarie" in presenting the supplications to their majesties.

In June, 1691, Dr. Blair set sail. On arriving in London, in September, the difficulties which confronted him were discouraging.[13] King William was in Flanders seeing to the affairs of the war in which England was involved; the Bishop of London from whom Blair was to seek advice was sick; the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom the king trusted wholly in ecclesiastical matters, was at Lambeth, and as the winter came on he was frozen up there for five weeks before he could get to London; Parliament and Council were completely absorbed in the business of the war. Though the situation was most discouraging, Dr. Blair made the very best of it. He idled no time away, but spent his spare months in trying to raise money for the college, and these efforts resulted eventually in the donation, known as the Boyle fund and other gifts, in all, several hundred pounds sterling. In obtaining the charter, Dr. Blair showed excellent judgment. Late in the fall when the Bishop of London recovered, Blair went to him with the

[10] College Papers, bundle 636, p. 5.
[11] Hartwell, Blair and Chilton's Present State of Virginia, p. 70.
[12] America and West Indies papers, bundle 638, p. 10.
[13] Historical Collections, Virginia. W. S. Perry, pp. 3-8 or Blair's letters.

project. He received him cordially and promised his support. He advised Blair to take the college business before the council and committee on plantations. Dr. Blair did not wish to do this, but desired to present it through the bishop directly to the king and queen. For, he said, he wished not only to obtain a charter, but also as large funds as possible for a college. He explained that the church party was in the minority in the council and that, while the council might grant a charter, it would not be inclined to make any gift of money. Dr. Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, favored Blair in this plan and told him that he had the right idea about accomplishing his mission, and to this the Bishop of London then agreed.[34] While waiting for the king to return to London and for him to attend to urgent war matters, Dr. Blair used the time in explaining to the bishop and the queen his mission, winning their favor, and preparing all things as far as possible before the petition for a charter should be presented to the king and the council.[35] When the Archbishop of Canterbury came to London, he aided the cause. In company with the archbishop, Dr. Blair went to Queen Mary and made known his mission. The queen welcomed the Commissary and "graciously approved" the founding of a college in Virginia. Later, when the college proposal was mentioned to the king, he was much pleased with it and frankly promised to give something toward it, if he could find any revenues in Virginia fit to give. When the time arrived to present the petition formally to the Council, Dr. Blair, having been introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Effingham, presented it in an appropriate manner, and when he closed his remarks his Majesty said: "Sir, I am glad that colony is upon so good a design and I will promote it to the best of my power."[36] Dr. Blair was asked to give to the Bishop of London a scheme for the college

[34] Perry, p. 5. [35] College papers, Blair's letters.
[36] Perry's Historical Collection, Virginia, p. 6 (Blair's letters).

and an account of what was expected for it, that it might be brought before the Committee on Plantations. All necessary steps in regard to the matter having been taken, the charter was granted February 19, 1693, the institution to be known by the name of "The College of William and Mary," in honor of the king and queen. With the charter the king and queen gave toward the college nineteen hundred and eighty-five pounds, fourteen shillings and ten pence out of the quit-rents of Virginia.[17] They also granted for the same purpose a tax of one penny on every pound of tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland; the fees and profits arising from the office of surveyor-general, which was put under the control of the college; and twenty thousand acres of land, ten thousand of which lay south of the Blackwater and the other ten in the Pamunkey Neck.[18] Dr. Blair was sent with a royal order to Seymour, the attorney-general, to issue a charter. Seymour hesitated. He argued that England was engaged in an expensive war and could not afford means to erect a college in Virginia. Dr. Blair explained that the institution was to educate young men to preach the gospel. He said the Virginians had souls to be saved as well as their English countrymen. To which Seymour replied, "Souls, damn your souls! Make tobacco!" Such were the obstacles that confronted Blair in this enterprise. While it is true that the bishops and others in authority encouraged and supported the educational ambition of the American colony, yet many Englishmen, business men and men of office, cared nothing for the intellectual welfare of Virginia. By them "all possible objections were made to the project, as a design that would take our planters off from their mechanical employments and make them grow too knowing to be obedient and submissive."[19] Their ideas were to use

[17] College papers.
[18] Charter (attached to William and Mary Catalogues, Richmond, 1870).
[19] Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, p. 597.

the inhabitants of the colony as instruments out of which to make all the money they could. But the attorney-general swore to no purpose. Blair was not a man who could be baffled. He went after the charter and he obtained it. He brought it over to Virginia in the spring of 1693.

By the charter Blair was "created and established first president during his natural life."[20] The General Assembly also elected him president of the college.[21] The charter provided for the organization of the institution, stating that the faculty of the college should consist of a president and six professors or masters, and that it should be a place of universal study of "Divinity, Philosophy, Languages and other good arts and Sciences." It provided a board of trustees, sometimes called visitors and governors, that should not exceed twenty in number.[22] These chose the president, professors, rector, and chancellor. The rector of the college was appointed yearly. Dr. Blair was the first one. The chancellor was appointed every seventh year. Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, was the first chancellor. The board of trustees or visitors had general control of the school. But the charter provided that after the college should be founded and erected, the trustees should grant and transfer to the president and professors the "Lands, Manors, Tenements, Rents, Services, Rectories, Portions, Annuities, Pensions, and Advowsons of the churches, with all other inheritances, franchises, possessions, goods, chattels and

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[20] Charter.

[21] Blair was allowed 250 pounds for his trouble in getting the charter.

[22] In the charter the first trustees of the college are mentioned, "Francis Nicholson, our Lieutenant-Governor in the Colonies of Virginia and Maryland. Wm. Cole, Ralph Wormly, William Byrd and John Lear, Esquires; James Blair, John Farnifold, Stephen Fouace and Samuel Gray, clerks; Thomas Milner, Christopher Robinson, Charles Scarborough, John Smith, Benjamin Harrison, Miles Cary, Henry Hartwell, William Randolph and Matthew Page."

Personal estate." This was to be done in order that the president and professors might not be interfered with in any way. These persons should also form a "body politic and incorporated in deed and name." The faculty had full and absolute power to nominate and elect one of their number, or any able man they wished, to the House of Burgesses to represent the interest of the college.[33] The salary of the president was one hundred and fifty pounds a year, and that of professors eighty pounds each, together "with twenty shillings entrance, and twenty shillings a year, for pupilage for each scholar."[34] Such, in brief, was the organization of the College.

As soon as Dr. Blair reached Virginia in 1693 he turned himself to the task of having the college building erected. The plan of this had been prepared by Sir Christopher Wren. It was begun but was not completed before there was need of more money. The House of Burgesses strengthened the royal endowment by permanently levying an export duty, of an average of seven and one-half per cent, on furs and skins for the support of the college.[35] Nicholson, then Governor of Maryland, entered heartily in the good work and gave one hundred and fifty pounds. A considerable sum of money, twenty-five hundred pounds or more, had been subscribed by Virginians, but only a very small part of it could be collected.[36] First, they had subscribed, "some to oblige and curry favor with his excellency"—the governor who had issued a brief for subscriptions, "others hoping and supposing it (the college project) would come to nothing, and others for the Commissary's sake, that they might not be thought singular and enemies to so good a worke, putt their hand to the Briefe and could never be reconciled to the college" afterward.[37] These not only

[33] Charter.
[34] The Present State of Virginia, Hugh Jones, p. 27.
[35] Hening, iii, pp. 123, 124.
[36] Hartwell, Blair and Chilton's Present State of Virginia, p. 70.
[37] College papers.

would not pay but became "enemies to the College on the account of their subscriptions toward it."

Second, many of the subscribers were "angry" and would not pay because the college had been situated at Middle Plantation, later Williamsburg.[28] "Every one" wanted it "in his own county or neighborhood." In the above statement we see plainly how hard it was to get the early settlers in Virginia to work together in anything for the common good. In the third place, some subscribers raised the objection that the president was receiving his salary before the college building was actually finished and the school became a college, and, therefore they would not help.[29] Manifestly, it was more work and worry to the president to raise the money, have the building erected and raise the standard of the school to a college than to act as president after the school should be well established. When Dr. Blair returned from England, he offered to go to his parish in Henrico, where he was inducted into a living, and not to receive any salary until the building should be constructed, but the governors of the college would not listen to any such thing. They said that Blair had been the manager of the whole business and they were afraid that it would still come to nothing[30] if he were not at the head of it. So they voted for him to leave his parish at Henrico and come and carry on the college work with "all diligence." Blair was not only the originator of the college, but its very life. Lastly, the collectors of the penny a pound on tobacco, were prejudiced against the college and "began personally to entertain odium against it," because "that money was directed from their coffers into another channel by being given to the college."[31] As it was the collectors cheated the college out of a great deal of revenue. Besides the lack of money, Dr. Blair had enemies who opposed him. It was impossible that an active,

[28] Hening, iii, 122.
[29] New York Archives, Vol. iii. Also College papers.
[30] Perry, pp. 41, 42.
[31] College papers.

earnest man, working with men who often acted merely for gain and from other superficial motives should not have some enemies. But he never thought of giving up the work because of opposition and the lack of money. He gave a part of his salary. His friends advanced money to the college. So the work went on. The office of surveyor-general began to bring in money about Christmas, 1696 or 1697, and yielded annually about fifty pounds.[33] About 1697, the ten thousand acres of land south of the Blackwater Swamp were leased. There was a dispute about the ten thousand acres in the Pamunkey Neck, and it was some time before it yielded a revenue to the college.[33] It appears from the accounts which are before me, that the college building cost three thousand and eighty-nine pounds.[34] This amount includes some small amounts paid to the teachers. We have a good description of the appearance of the college in Professor Hugh Jones' "Present State of Virginia." "The front which looks due east is double, and is 136 feet long. It is a lofty pile of brick building, adorned with a cupola. At the north end runs back a large wing, which is a handsome hall, answerable to which the chapel is to be built; and there is a spacious piazza on the west side, from one wing to the other. It is approached by a good walk, and a ground entrance by steps, with good courts and gardens about it . . . and a large pasture enclosed like a park with about 150 acres of land adjoining for occasional uses."[35] This description was given of the second building, but the model was the same as the first and tradition says the general appearance was.

Teaching was begun before the building was completed. The grammar school was started in 1693,[36] the same year that Blair returned from England. Thus we see that in

[33] Hartwell, Blair and Chilton's Present State of Virginia, p. 69.
[33] "Board of Trade," Virginia, Vol. vi.
[34] College papers.
[35] Present State of Virginia, Hugh Jones, p. 26.
[36] College papers.

less than three years from the time Blair began to infuse fire into the Burgesses about the college he had been to England, obtained the charter, returned and put the college in operation. The grammar school was "well furnished with a good school master, usher and writing master."[37] Mongo Inglis, M. A., a Scotchman of ability, was the first professor of the grammar school. This grammar school, which was for the "education of the youth of the Colony in the Latin and Greek tongues" was all that the college had for several years. It was the corner-stone of the institution. The college soon did good work, for in the report made by ten of the most prominent men of the time, we read: "The scholars make great proficiency in their studies to the general satisfaction of their parents and guardians."[38] In May, 1697, the House of Burgesses attended exercises at the college and spoke with commendation of the studying the students were doing. That year there were twenty-nine students.[39] The first Commencement was held in the closing year of the century. It was a grand occasion for the colony and attracted visitors from far beyond the bounds of Virginia. "There was a great concourse of people; several planters came thither in coaches and others in sloops from New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, it being a new thing in that part of America to hear graduates perform their exercises. Indians had the curiosity, some of them, to visit Williamsburg upon that occasion; and the whole country rejoiced."[40] As mentioned above, it was several years before the college became more than a grammar school. The growth of the institution was slow, often its plans were crippled from a lack of adequate funds. But this would not be doing justice to the real circumstances. There were two other things that hindered the growth of the college enough to demand mention here.

[37] Board of Trade, Virginia, Vol. vi.
[38] Board of Trade, Virginia, Vol. vi.
[39] William and Mary College Quarterly, Vol. i, p. 130.
[40] Campbell's History of Virginia, pp. 361, 362.

First, Dr. Blair's troubles with governors of Virginia, and second, the discord between the President and Professor Mongo Inglis, the leading master in the school. The trouble of Dr. Blair with the governors caused him to have to make two trips to England and these took much of his time and attention from the college when it needed him most. The contentions divided the people into factions and it was nothing but natural for the most of those who opposed the president to oppose the college, since he was the head of it. These disturbances were also the cause of a number of students being taken from the college.[a] The discord between President Blair and Professor Inglis was very injurious to the college for a few years. This arose largely from misunderstandings and the reports of talebearers. Professor Inglis, a man of considerable ability, but who would talk too much, became extremely angry with President Blair. He threatened to give up his professorship and let the college go to nothing, for, he said, the whole reputation of the institution was derived from himself. He declared that the school would never amount to anything while Blair remained president, for, said he, the president used it only as a "tool with which to enrich himself" and as a "stalking house" by which to carry on designs against governors and turn them out of office. Professor Inglis spoke as disrespectfully of Blair as he could. He even accused him of trying to break up the college. But, unfortunately for the professor's charges, they contradict themselves. While, on the one hand, they make Blair to get his riches and all of his power from the college, on the other, they accuse him of trying to ruin the institution—that which Blair knows to be the source of his income and power.

This dispute threw a damper over the whole school, partly unfitted Professor Inglis for his work, and destroyed the harmony that should exist between the President and

[a] College papers.

the Professor. Dr. Blair seems not to have become angry with Mr. Inglis, but tried to reason the matter with him. No attempt will be made here to give a full account of the causes of Mr. Inglis' falling out with Dr. Blair, for that would be discussing them farther than their importance deserves. I only mention briefly a few of the causes as stated by Mr. Inglis himself, while irritated: "First," he said, "Dr. Blair ordered his brother's son, John Blair to be taken from the college, and that this was the cause of Dr. Blair's friends taking six more students from the school, which students were boarding with Inglis." Each student paid to Mr. Inglis twenty shillings entrance fee and the same sum for tutorage, and this, together with the money for board, touched Mr. Inglis' pocketbook very sensibly. This, according to his own statements, was the chief reason of his hatred toward the President. But Dr. Blair said he did not order his nephew to leave the college, and, furthermore, that he was away in England when the boy left and knew nothing of it at the time. "Second," Mr. Inglis said, "the President was using the college as a 'stalking house' to serve him in turning out governors." "Third," because of Dr. Blair's ingratitude to Governor Nicholson, "the great patron of the college." "Fourth," because Dr. Blair had "injured and disgraced" his (Inglis) scholars and himself by statements he made in an affidavit against the Governor. The gist and truth of the whole matter is this: Mr. Inglis thought Dr. Blair had been the cause of the seven students being removed from college and these removals, according to the professor's own words, touched his pocket considerably as well as his reputation as a professor. And furthermore he was a friend to Nicholson, Blair's enemy, hence from both his feeling and the custom of the time, it was natural for him to be an enemy of Dr. Blair.[a] The president managed this trouble between himself and the professor as ably as the circumstances permitted. To-

[a] College papers. Mongo Inglis' letters. N. Y. Archives, Vol. i.

gether with these drawbacks to the college followed another of a different kind. As already intimated, the college building had been erected only about ten years when it burned down. This took place in 1705. "Very little saved that was in it," says Beverly, "the fire breaking out about ten o'clock at night, in a public time. The Governor and all the gentlemen came up to the lamentable spectacle." "But the fire had got such a power . . . . there were no hopes of putting it out." This, indeed, seemed discouraging, since there were no funds on hand with which to rebuild. But it is said that Dr. Blair was not discouraged. Not for a moment did the President and the best friends of the college think of giving it up. The college had won friends from among its former enemies. Its presence had stimulated an educational impulse.

The president and other trustees put themselves to the task of rebuilding. The second building did not go up nearly so fast as the first. When Alexander Spotswood was appointed Governor, in 1710, he encouraged the President and helped toward the building. Finally the edifice was restored. The second building, while like the first in general appearances, was more beautiful. It was not "altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital."[48]

Besides the main edifice there was also one for the education of Indians. Few people of to-day know how much interested the early settlers of Virginia were in educating and Christianizing the Indians. They were in earnest about the matter. In connection with the early movements for colleges there was always something said about educating the Indians. There is scarcely a petition that states the purpose of founding William and Mary College but that expresses the intention of educating the natives of America.

The promoters of the educational project carried this intention into effect. Hon. Robert Boyle, who died in England in 1791, ordered his executors "to apply his per-

[48] Present State of Virginia, Hugh Jones, p. 26.

sonal estate to such charitable and pious uses as they, in their discretion, should think fit."[44] The Boyle bequest, £5400, was invested in a landed estate called the Brafferton. While in England, in 1692, Dr. Blair had partly secured this bequest. In 1697 he went back to England, and, aided by the Bishop of Canterbury, obtained the most of this bequest for the College of William and Mary.[45] A part of this legacy went to Harvard College. By means of the Boyle endowment the College of William and Mary erected a building called the "Brafferton," solely for Indian education, which purpose it long served. It was a "handsome house" and had twelve rooms.[46] This building is still standing and is used as a dormitory for students. The Indian school had a master or professor.[47] Governor Spotswood, during his administration, abolished the petty tribute formerly exacted from certain Indian tribes on condition that the "chief men" should send their children to the college to be educated. From hostile tribes young Indians were taken as hostages to be educated, who served to maintain the public safety. The queen of the Pamunkeys sent her son to the college. Many of the Indians who came to the school took much interest in the studies. During Spotswood's régime there were nearly twenty Indians at the college at one time. It seems that this Indian department did well at the start. Governor Spotswood in a communication to the Bishop of London, dated July 26, 1712, speaks of the success of the experiment, but of the insufficiency of the endowment. The Indians, he says, "are decently cloathed and maintained, so that they seem very well pleased with the change of their condition as indeed their parents and others of their nations, who come frequently to see them, express much satisfaction with the care that is taken of them, and frequently lament their own

[44] H. B. Adams' William and Mary College, p. 16. Perry, p. 8.
[45] Duychinck's Cyclopedia of American Literature, Vol. i, pp. 87, 88.
[46] Ibid. [47] Letters of Governor Spotswood, i, p. 174.

misfortune in not having like advantages in their youth; but, as the revenue of the college settled by Mr. Boyle for that service is insufficient to support so great a charge, I hope your Lordship will use interest for obtaining some contributions from the Society for propagating the Gospel to Promote so good a design."[48] But this Indian department never did the good that its promoters had thought and hoped. The disposition of the roving Indian who had been hemmed in only by the gilded horizon and blue canopy of the heavens was not adapted to academic walls. Many became dissatisfied in school and pined away and died.

The college for the whites, under the guidance of its able and devoted president, increased in size and usefulness. The board of visitors and governors met often to attend to the business of the college and look after gifts and endowments. The proceedings of these meetings were well kept. They contain not only such transactions as selecting professors and choosing visitors, but they have the minutest details of the college business.[49]

Notwithstanding that the governors of the college attended closely to their duties, the institution was cheated out of a great deal of the revenue belonging to it.[50] From time to time gifts of more or less importance were added to the funds.[51] In 1718, the General Assembly, acting on the advice of Governor Spotswood, gave one thousand pounds. In 1726, the House of Burgesses put a duty on liquors, which revenue was given to the college.[52] The Assembly's appropriation and the income from liquors were both used in establishing scholarships. Colonel Hill, of Shirley, and Robert Carter, of Corotoman, together gave two hundred pounds for the endowment of a scholarship. Mrs. Elizabeth Harrison, of Surry, contributed three hun-

[48] Letters of Governor Spotswood, Vol. i, p. 174.
[49] Virginia Magazine of History, Vols. iii and iv.
[50] Hening, Vol. iv, pp. 429, 430. College papers.
[51] Hening, Vol. iv, p. 74. [52] Hening, Vol. iv, pp. 148, 432.

dred pounds, and Mrs. Thomas Bray, of New Kent, two hundred. The college had a library containing a remarkable number of volumes considering how few books there were on this side of the Atlantic.[53] From time to time books were donated to it from private libraries. When Alexander Spotswood died, in 1740, he bequeathed his books, maps and mathematical instruments to the college.[54]

Until 1711 the faculty of the college consisted of President Blair, a grammar professor, Mongo Inglis, an usher, James Hodges, and a writing master. The building having been destroyed by fire in 1705, the money that would have employed other professors had to go toward the new building. In 1711, Mr. Lefevre was elected first professor of mathematics.[55] The exact times when other persons were added to the faculty is not known, but by 1729 it contained the full number intended by the charter—six professors, graduates of Edinburgh, Oxford and Cambridge.[56] It was the first college in America to have a full faculty. Bartholomew Yates and Francis Fountain were the professors of theology, William Dawson and Alexander Irwin, of philosophy and mathematics; Joshua Fry, of the grammar school, and Richard Cocke, of the Indian school.[57] The classical languages, Oriental languages, divinity, mathematics and philosophy were now taught.

It was thus that President Blair, against fire, personal opposition, and scarcity of money, brought the college to its full size and to success. In 1729, as the original charter had provided, it was transferred to the president and professors.[58] Its work did not disappoint the founder in his expectation of good. It did much in raising the standard of the ministry at the time and played an important part

[53] Virginia Magazine of History, Vol. iv, p. 161.
[54] Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. v, p. 267.
[55] Virginia Historical Collections, Vol. i, pp. 103, 156, 158.
[56] William and Mary Historical Papers, Vol. ii, p. 65.
[57] Transfer of the College.
[58] Transfer; attached to William and Mary Catalogues, Richmond, 1870.

in educating statesmen. Concerning ministers, Bishop Meade said: "It is positively affirmed by those most competent to speak that the best ministers were those educated at the college." We need make no comment on the statesmen who have studied in the halls of old William and Mary College. Their names speak for themselves. Among them were Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler, Presidents of the United States; John Tyler, Governor of Virginia; Peyton Randolph, first President of the Continental Congress; Edmund Randolph, Governor of Virginia; John Mercer, Governor of Maryland; James Innes, Attorney-General of Virginia; John Blair, Bushrod Washington and Philip Barbour, Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the great Chief Justice John Marshall. Besides these, the college has sent out fifteen Senators, a greater number of Representatives, fifteen Governors, more than thirty judges, two commodores, nine members of the Cabinet, and a number of other men of public trust and high position. In founding William and Mary College, Dr. Blair put in motion a mighty power to shake the British throne and set the American conscience free. It was during his two years of study at William and Mary College that Jefferson was inspired with the thoughts that expanded his mind and gave him his idea of an educational system. He says: "In the spring of 1760, went to William and Mary College, where I continued two years. It was my great good fortune, and what probably fixed the destinies of my life, that Dr. William Small, of Scotland, was then Professor of Mathematics, a man profound in most of the useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communicative, correct and gentlemanly manners and an enlarged and liberal mind. He, most happily for me, became soon attached to me, and made me his daily companion when not engaged in the school; and from his conversation I got my first views of the expansion of science, and of the system of things in which we are placed."[29]

[29] Dr. Foote's Sketches of Virginia, p. 155.

Professor Herbert B. Adams, in his monograph on "William and Mary College," says: "Virginia is called the mother of presidents, but the College of William and Mary, the *alma mater* of statesmen, is only another name for Virginia." It is proper to add here that, though William and Mary College has been partially destroyed by fire several times, and greatly injured by both the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, it is doing a good work at the present time. It stands to-day as the first American college that received a charter, the first in the world planned by English colonists, and the second, in point of time, actually established in America.

CHAPTER III.

BLAIR'S CONNECTION WITH THE GOVERNORS OF VIRGINIA.

Besides being Commissary and President, Blair was also a member of the Council of Virginia. He was appointed to this office by the king in 1793.[1] This Council corresponded to the Upper House in England and its duty was to advise and assist the Governor in all important matters of government about which he might consult them.[2] When the Council acted with the House of Burgesses, it formed what was called the General Assembly. As a member of the Council, Blair was a judge of the highest court in the colony. He was president of the Council for many years. No man in the colony held as many important offices as Blair. He was always busy working for the welfare of the colony either as Commissary or preacher, as President of the College, or as a member of the Council in its different functions. Wherever Dr. Blair was, he counted for something. When he believed any line of action to be right he adhered strictly to it.

The governor was ordinary to the king and to the Bishop of London, hence his relations with Blair were close and in some cases almost inseparable. As ordinary, it was the governor's business to induct the ministers upon presentation of them by the vestrymen, and in case they did not present candidates in six months, the governor had the

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[1] Hartwell, Blair and Chilton's Present State of Virginia, p. 35. Campbell's Virginia, p. 356. Some writers differ regarding the date, but according to Blair's own statement it was 1793.

[2] Hartwell, Blair and Chilton's Present State of Virginia.

right to induct preachers without presentation.[3] There were frequent misunderstandings and disagreements between the Commissary and Governor about induction and other church matters. Thus Blair's many sided duties and the energy and earnestness with which he worked, frequently brought him in collision with prominent men of the colony. He was involved in difficulties with clergymen and governors during the greater part of the period of his commissaryship and presidency of the college. Troubles arising from the Church, the Government and the College caused controversies and opposition between Dr. Blair and three governors—Andros, Nicholson, and Spotswood. There are hundreds of pages of manuscript and letters relating to the conflicts of these colonial authorities. Some of the trials in Lambeth Palace are reported in full and are extremely interesting.

Sir Edmund Andros became Governor of Virginia in 1692, at the time the college was being founded. He came from New York where he was in bad repute. He opposed the founding of the school.[4] He spread among the voters the fear that taxes would be increased should the college be established. He never paid anything himself toward its support, and it is said his friends did not. He once promised brick to build the chapel and then withdrew his promise.[5] In trying to exert an influence against Dr. Blair, the governor complained even because he was a Scotchman. At another time he suspended Blair from the Council without holding any trial or even informing him, because he had spoken of the governor's obstruction of the college.[6] When reported, the king disapproved of the action and restored Blair to the Council. Even after this, Andros had the audacity to declare that he was not eligible because he was born in Scotland.

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[3] Laws of Virginia, p. 3. Perry, pp. 243, 244.
[4] Perry's Historical Collections, Virginia, pp. 18-29.
[5] Perry, pp. 54-57.
[6] Hartwell, Blair and Chilton's Present State of Virginia, p. 36.

In 1697, Blair went to England to attend to getting the Boyle legacy for the college. At the same time complaints were made against the governor and Blair then brought thirteen charges against Andros as an enemy to the church, the clergy, and the college.[7] There were no petty personal complaints in these charges, although numerous. They all pertained to matters of importance to the colony. Five were in regard to the church and the clergy. The governor never tried to fill the vacant parishes. He made no attempt to induct the ministers into their livings. He did not favor them in their salaries when he could have done so. When the clergy were shamefully treated and brought their complaints before the governor, he paid but little attention to them. Eight other charges were concerning the college. In substance they were that Governor Andros favored the enemies of the college; paid nothing himself and tried to influence others not to pay their subscriptions; put difficulties in the way of the college receiving its revenues, and hindered the meetings of the trustees or the governors of the college. The trial took place in Lambeth Palace, December 27, 1697, and lasted two days. Blair had strong foes to meet. The governor had sent over his defenders, Colonel Byrd, of Westover, Mr. Harrison, of Surry, a Mr. Marshall and a Mr. Povey, to arraign Dr. Blair before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.[8] They brought forward two accusations against Blair. He successfully refuted both of them, for they were weak. The first was that the Commissary had filled the parishes with Scotchmen against the people's desires. Dr. Blair's opponents had made a blunder. Certain Englishmen had been taken for Scotchmen. The other charge was that Blair took his salary as president before the college was completed. Blair answered that

[7] Perry, pp. 10-29, 32-36. Fulham Mss., Nos. 594 and 1029.
[8] Perry, p. 36. Meade's Old Churches and Families, Vol. i, p. 158.

though the General Assembly and the charter of the college had given him a right to the president's salary, yet he had told the governors of the college, when he returned to Virginia in 1693, that if they thought "the business of the president unnecessary at present" he had a good living at Henrico and would go there and stay until he was needed. But after "free debate upon the subject" the trustees of the college agreed that as he had been managing the business of the institution in Virginia and in England, "they were afraid it would still come to nothing," if he was not head of it, therefore voted that he should leave his parish and remove "to the place where the college should be built, and carry it on with all diligence."[9] Accordingly, he moved.

On the other hand, Dr. Blair sustained for the most part his charges against the governor, often making his opponents admit their truth.[10] The calmness, frankness, and knowledge with which Blair spoke gave his words additional power. Bishop Meade has truly said: "Never were four men more completely foiled by one."[11] The trial, or the examination, resulted in the exoneration of Dr. Blair and the recall of Governor Andros.

In 1698, Sir Francis Nicholson, who had been the Deputy Governor of Virginia in 1690 and 1691, was again appointed to that office. The Earl of Orkney was the nominal governor but remained in England. During Nicholson's first governorship, he and Blair were strong friends.[12] Nicholson favored the college project and contributed liberally, and Blair wrote him many letters expressing the greatest appreciation and gratitude. When Nicholson came to Virginia the second time, he got along agreeably with the Commissary for awhile, yet from the very beginning seemed to be a changed man. Many people of the time remarked the

[9] Perry, p. 42.
[10] Perry, pp. 36-65. Campbell's Virginia, pp. 356, 357.
[11] Meade's Old Churches and Families, p. 158.
[12] College papers and Blair's letters.

change. While governor of Maryland he had disagreed much with Commissary Bray,[13] and that experience gave indication of what might follow. On the day of the publication of the governor's commission, Dr. Blair took it to him, and in accordance with advice from Nicholson's friends and in the name of the Bishop of London, recommended, in the best of spirit, moderation in his administration. Nicholson replied very hotly: "G— — I know better how to govern Virginia and Maryland than all the bishops in England; if I had not hampered them in Maryland and kept them under, I should never have been able to have governed them."[14] Dr. Blair answered: "I do not pretend to understand Maryland, but if I understand anything about Virginia they are as good-natured, tractable people as any in the world, and you may do what you will with them by the way of civility, but you will never be able to manage them in that way you speak of—by hampering and keeping them under." By nature, Nicholson was self-willed, high-tempered and vain. He always wished to have his way, whether in affairs of politics, love, or anything else. His tyrannical and passionate actions turned many people against him.

In a few years Blair and Governor Nicholson were completely at variance with each other. Without doubt the tyranny, profanity, immorality, and ridiculous actions of Nicholson caused Blair to oppose him as governor. When the least angry, he collared and cursed attorney-generals;[15] assaulted ministers; took off their hats and called them villains, rogues, rascals and banditti.[16] He swore at members of the Council and applied to them his usual list of opprobrious names, "rogue, rascal, cheat, dog, villain, and coward."[17]

The governor's acts were offensive enough, but a love affair brought out his worst qualities and made him almost

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[13] Meade, p. 158.
[14] Perry, pp. 76, 77.
[15] Perry, pp. 101, 102.
[16] Ibid., pp. 90, 91.
[17] Ibid., p. 98.

as a mad man. This affair had so much influence upon Nicholson and increased the disagreement and enmity between him and Dr. Blair to such a degree that it requires mention here. In fact, many of the people of the time said it was this that changed Nicholson. Major Lewis Burwell, who lived near Williamsburg, had nine daughters, with one of whom the governor had the misfortune to fall passionately in love. The love was not reciprocated. This "completely upset what little reason there was in Governor Nicholson."[18] He demanded the lady in royal fashion from her parents, but neither she nor her parents nor members of the family were willing to comply. The governor became angry and persisted in his design and claim. He threatened the father and the brother and swore to Dr. Blair that if the girl married some other man, he would cut the throats of three men—the bridegroom, the minister, and the justice who issued the license.[19] The frenzied action of the governor was talked of not only in Virginia, but even in London. One of Nicholson's London friends wrote a letter of advice in which he asked him not to give the lady or her relations any further molestation and said: "It is not here as in some barbarous countries where the tender lady is dragged into the Sultan's arms just reeking in the blood of her nearest relatives."[20] The governor hated and abused every one whom he thought opposed him directly or indirectly in the love affair. He imagined that Archibald Blair, brother of the Commissary, was his rival, and hence "conceived the strongest objections to him and all his relatives." Whereupon he sent for Dr. Blair and said to him: "Sir, your brother is a villain and you have betrayed me." Then he lifted up his hands and loudly said: "Mr. Blair, take notice; I vow to the eternal G— that I will be revenged on you and all your family."[21] Blair did all he could to

[18] Meade, p. 159. [19] Perry, p. 102. [20] Perry, pp. 66-75.
[21] William and Mary Historical Papers, Vol. i, p. 67.

undecieve and "pacify him" and to let him know that he was not opposing him in any way in his love affair. Still, however, he pursued the Commissary with malice and tried to ruin him in both England and Virginia. It was believed by President Blair and others that Nicholson even entertained designs on his life. Nicholson gave the college boys, pistols, powder and shot with which to keep the president out of the college.[32] Yet it cannot be said for certain that the governor intended to have boys go so far as to kill the president.

But the governor made a mistake which cost him his office in antagonizing the sober-minded and influential Commissary. Before his love trouble the governor did not wish the Council to oppose him in any way. Now Nicholson's actions were a great deal worse. Blair and five other members of the Council—Robert Carter, Philip Ludwell, J. Lightfoot, Matthew Page, and Benjamin Harrison—drew up a memorial against Governor Nicholson and sent it to the queen.[33] Soon after this, Dr. Blair and the Rev. James Fouace were requested to make affidavits relating to the mal-administration of Governor Nicholson. They did so. The charges brought in Blair's first affidavit pertained to the arbitrariness and partiality of the governor in his administration.[34] They charged Nicholson with appointing justices of the peace, sheriffs, militia and naval officers and other officers without consulting the Council; with removing clerks and judges from office without any complaints being brought against them; with acting directly contrary to the advice of the Council; with hectoring its members and calling them "the opprobrious names of rogue, rascal, cheat, dog, villain, and coward;" with using partiality in the general court; and with uncalled for action in strengthening the militia, and with

[32] Perry, pp. 137, 138. William and Mary Historical Papers, Vol. i, p. 68. College papers.

[33] Perry, pp. 75-81.

[34] Perry, pp. 87-112.

using suspicious expressions as to how he could govern if he had "soldiers well-fleshed in blood and accustomed to booty."

The second and further affidavit of Blair against the governor pertained to the clergy, the college and himself.[25] The substance of the affidavit was that the governor invaded the Commissary's jurisdiction by calling meetings of the clergy without taking notice of the Commissary; acted disrespectfully toward, and spoke contemptuously of the clergy, saying "they were all a pack of scoundrels" and he wished they were dead; threw abuses on the college and acted without the direction of the trustees and hindered the revenues; and interfered with the private affairs of Blair and tried to ruin his reputation. The conduct of the governor which touched Dr. Blair the most was Nicholson's tyranny in the Council, his profane language and disrespectful talk about the clergy. The one aim of Blair's life was to raise the standard of the clergy in the estimation of the people, in order that they might do more religious good. Anything that hindered this aim touched the very soul of the Commissary.

Mr. Thrale, as agent of Nicholson, answered the charges brought against the governor. If they could have been refuted, Mr. Thrale failed to refute them. He begins by telling his Lordship that if his answers appear defective, that is leave the governor unjustified, he hopes the defect will be attributed to his ignorance in drawing them up and in nowise reflect upon the governor's cause. He attempts to answer but few of the accusations with plain facts. His replies, in general, are that the governor had a right to do so and so, and that he believed he was doing right in acting this way and that. No doubt the Council did object to the governor's acts sometimes when they had no strictly legal right. Mr. Thrale makes no attempt to answer many of the charges and even acknowledges of several that it is

[25] Perry, pp. 131-138.

impossible to refute them. All of this dispute led to a general uproar in Church and State. Preachers and politicians took a part. The House of Burgesses passed a resolution in favor of the governor, saying they were of the opinion that he had great respect for the welfare and prosperity of the country.[26] A great reception was given at the hotel in Williamsburg to which clergymen were invited in order that they might be brought over to the governor's cause.[27] Some one of the time wrote a long poem "addressed to the Revd. Members of the Convocation Held at Man's Ordinary at Williamsburg," in which the ministers of the festival are satirized and depicted in unclerical hilarity. The first stanza of the poem is as follows:

> "Bless us, what dismal times are these,
> What stars are in conjunction,
> What Priests turn Sycophants to please,
> And Hair brained Passion to appease,
> Dare Prostitute their Function."[28]

A large number of ministers were in fact on the side of Governor Nicholson. Some of them were preachers with whom the Commissary was unpopular and whom the governor had won by taking their side against the vestries. Many of them were, perhaps unconsciously to themselves, won to the governor by his receptions, favors and flattering speeches. Those of the clergy who were on Nicholson's side signed a paper in his favor,[29] but their influence could not save him. The proud governor was completely defeated by the sober-minded Commissary. When the charges and answers were examined in England, Governor Nicholson was removed and Edward Nott was made Lieutenant-Governor. The upright and philanthropic life of Blair in Virginia had won great respect for him in England, and when he said anything it carried weight with it. Nicholson is not the subject of this sketch, yet, in passing,

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[26] New York Archives, Vol. ii.
[27] Campbell's Virginia, p. 358. Meade, Vol. i, p. 159.
[28] Perry, 179. [29] New York Archives, Vol. ii.

it may be said that in spite of his bad traits, there was a warm-heartedness and politeness about him, in his best hours, which attract the sympathy of the investigator.

In 1710, Alexander Spotswood became Governor of Virginia.[20] His was a nobler character than either of the other two mentioned. He was an old soldier. From his boyhood he was brought up in the army and served under the Duke of Marlborough. He was in the battle of Blenheim and was badly wounded by the first fire of the French.[21] He rose to the rank of colonel and hence had learned to command and expect obedience without gainsaying. This spirit he, of course, brought with him when he came to Virginia as governor. While liberal in some of his views, he was ardent for the royal power and for its transfer to the governor of Virginia. He made one of the best governors the colony ever had. For many years there was "perfect friendship" between him and Dr. Blair. He gave the college his support and at his instance the Assembly, in 1718, voted the college one thousand pounds.[22] He gave special encouragement to Indian education. On the other hand, President Blair supported Spotswood's favorite enterprise—the crossing of the Blue Ridge and discovering the valley beyond.[23] But after seven or eight years had passed disagreement began to rise between the two. The discord was due to two things: the rather extreme dominion exercised by the governor and the confused relations of Church and State. The spirit of freedom that always existed in a Virginia House of Burgesses was not exactly suited to the prerogative of a soldier governor.[24] A quarrel arose between Spotswood and the Burgesses. Colonel Byrd, with others, was sent over to England to prefer

[20] Lord Orkney was still figurehead Governor.
[21] Spotswood's Letters, Vol. i, p. 9 (preface). Campbell's Virginia, pp. 378, 379.
[22] Spotswood's Letters, Vols. i and ii, p. 12 (preface).
[23] Meade, Vol. i, p. 160.
[24] Spotswood's Letters, Vol. i, pp. 132, 139; Vol. ii, pp. 219, 220.

charges against him, and because Dr. Blair would not take sides with him the governor tried to injure the Commissary. Again the governor appointed men, other than members of the Council, judges in the high court of Oyer and Terminer.[35] The Council opposed this, as well as other high-handed actions, and, led by Blair, drew up a remonstrance against the governor to the Lord Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, whereupon the governor besought the Commissioners to petition the queen to dismiss the whole Council and appoint another.

The other cause of Blair's opposition to Spotswood is found in the matter of inducting ministers. To the governor, as ordinary, belonged in ecclesiastical affairs, induction of minsters, probating wills and granting of licenses. No man was more anxious for preachers to be inducted than was the Commissary. The point in dispute was this: Spotswood claimed the right of inducting a minister into a parish as soon as the parish might become vacant, that is, as soon as it needed a preacher.[36] The Commissary claimed that it was the function of the vestrymen, in the name of the parishioners, to present a minister to the governor for induction, and in case the vestrymen should not present a candidate for the place in six months from the time the parish became vacant, then the governor could induct a preacher without presentation.[37] According to the practice of former governors, the opinion of Attorney-General North and the act of the General Assembly, the Commissary was right.[38]

To the convention of the clergy at Williamsburg in 1719, Governor Spotswood addressed a letter accusing the Commissary of not wanting ministers inducted, of deserting the cause of the Church, and of allowing laymen to conduct services in church and at burials.[39] Dr. Blair readily an-

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[35] Spotswood's Letters, Vol. ii, pp. 221, 223, 259, 260.
[36] Perry, pp. 97, 98, 203-208.
[37] Ibid., pp. 226-242.
[38] Ibid., pp. 127, 128, 243, 244.
[39] Ibid., 201-203.

swered these, for the first two were absolutely untrue. As to the third, a few times, when indisposed, Blair had allowed a layman to read for him and then preached and conducted the rest of the services. In distant parts of the colony he had a time or two ridden by a cemetery when some grave layman was conducting the burial service.[40] These charges seem to us at the present time petty and trivial, but at that time when everything was done according to stern and rigid custom, they were regarded as of no little importance.

During the disagreement many letters were written by both parties to the Bishop of London. In 1721, Dr. Blair made a trip to England. The triumph of the old parson over the old soldier was complete. Spotswood was recalled in 1722 and Drysdale was made governor. The opposition between the Commissary and Spotswood had much to do with the removal of the governor.[41] In all of these conflicts between the governors and the Commissary one thing is most apparent, namely, the friction between the Church and State. These disturbances did not rise altogether from the fault of these individuals but from conceptions of government which had been inherited from Europe.

With Spotswood, Dr. Blair's troubles with governors passed away. Hardly, if ever, are the manly struggles of life suffered to be in vain. The old parson president saw the storm and the clouds, which darkened the morning of his life, pass away, and heavenly peace crowned his later years. For twenty years more the venerable Commissary toiled on for the religious, educational, and political good of the colony. Considering the many offices Dr. Blair held and his relations to others, it may be granted that he concerned himself at times a little too much with the affairs of others, though of this there is no evidence in the records.

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[40] Perry, 226-233. Meade, Vol. i, pp. 160, 161.
[41] William and Mary Historical Papers, Vol. i, pp. 68, 69.

Earnestness, sincerity, and labor are the most noticeable things in his life from the time he landed in Virginia to the end of his career. His life was one of philanthropic service. It was ever above reproach. After having been a preacher for more than sixty-five years, Commissary fifty-four years, a member of the Council fifty years, and President of the College half a century, Dr. Blair died April 18, 1743, in his eighty-ninth year. He was buried at Jamestown. Having had no children, he left the residue of his estate, except some small legacies, to his nephew John Blair and his children. To the institution which he so long served he left his library and five hundred pounds.[42]

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[42] William and Mary Historical Papers, Vol. i, p. 69. Meade, Vol. i, p. 168.

APPENDIX

The following is the inscription on Dr. Blair's tomb, as copied by Hugh Blair Grigsby in the middle of this century:[a]

"H. S. E. (Hic sepultus est)
Vir Reverendus et Honorabilis
Jacobus Blair, A. M.
In Scotia natus,
In Academia Edinburgensi nutritus,
Primo Angliam deinde Virginiam
venit:
In qua parte tenarum
Annos LVIII. Evangeli, Preconis
LIV. Commissarii
Gulielmi et Mariae Praesidis,
Britanniae Principium
Consiliarii
Concilii Praesidis
Coloniae Prefecti
munera sustinuit
oravit
um oris venusti Decus,
ate hilari sine (?) hospitali
muncipient
issimo egenis largo
omnibus comi
superavit.
Collegio bene diversam
fundaverat
eus Bibliothecam suam
id alenda Theologiae studiorum
Juventutem pauperiorem instituendam
Testamento legavit
Cal. Maii in die
MDCCXLIII
aetat: LXXXVIII
am desideratissimi
Lenis Laudem
is nepotibus commendabunt
pene mamore perenniora."

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[a] Meade, Vol. ii. Appendix, p. 486.

The following is a translation made by Mr. Grigsby with "the blanks and chasms" filled with his "own knowledge of the events of the Commissary's life": "

Here lies buried
The Reverend and Honorable
James Blair, A. M.,

who was born in Scotland, was educated in the College of Edinburgh, and emigrated to England, and thence to Virginia, in which colony he spent fifty-eight years as an Evangelist, Deacon, and Priest of the Church of England, and fifty-four years as Commissary of the Bishop of London. He was the founder and first President of William and Mary College, a member of the Council, and subsequently its President; and as such in the absence of the representative of the King, the Governor of the Colony.

He sustained his various offices with the approbation of his fellowmen, while he illustrated in his life those graces which adorn the Christian character.

He had a handsome person, and in the family circle blended cheerfulness with piety.

He was a generous friend to the poor, and was prompt in lending assistance to all who needed it.

He was a liberal benefactor of the College during his life; and at his death bequeathed to it his library, with the hope that his books, which were mostly religious, might lead the student to those things which lead to salvation.

He died on the — day of the Calends of May . . . in the year 1743, aged eighty-eight years, exhibiting to the last those graces which make old age lovely, and lamented by all, especially by his nephews, who have reared this stone to commemorate those virtues which will long survive the marble that records them."

"Mr. Grigsby stated that some words in his copy might not be correct as the inscriptions were much effaced.